

THE JOURNAL

BOOK CLUB OF WASHINGTON ♦ FALL 2012



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Cover illustration: *The Book of Common Prayer* (1892), folio, white vellum over boards; gold clasps; designed by architect Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue; de-accessioned in 2011 by the Washington National Cathedral Library. The binding was much-loved by Episcopal bibliophiles when this special edition appeared in late 1893.

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From the Editor

In the articles of the Fall 2012 issue of the *Journal*, five members of the Book Club of Washington share insights and little-known stories of books, book history, and printing. Whether we reach back centuries or even a few years, these five contributions show that books were, are, and will remain personal and impactful.

Most of us can recall the time when we first realized that the world of rare books was compelling and meaningful. GARY ACKERMAN describes an early adventure as he visited two legendary book dealers in San Francisco and actually held a first edition of *Leaves of Grass*.

The purpose of libraries is changing. Through log entries by students in an academic library, MICHAEL PAULUS demonstrates that it is the library as a physical place that mediates the past, present, and future as well as the printed and digital means of communication.

From his personal collection and historian's perspective, DAVID CULBERT shares the story of the complexities in creating several editions of *The Book of Common Prayer*; especially the aesthetic contribution of famed American printer Daniel Berkeley Updike.

The Book Club of Washington was fortunate to have University of Washington professor JEFFREY TODD KNIGHT as the keynote speaker at our 2012 annual meeting. In this article from his talk he suggests that the history of the book is shorter than we might think. Today's more interactive, malleable books have much in common with those of Shakespeare and other authors of that time.

Anton Zwemmer may be an unfamiliar name to many readers. Through the article by JANE CARLIN, we learn of this London bookseller and publisher who was instrumental in supporting modern artists and foreign art journals in the early 1900s. His gallery and bookshop were centers for artists, students, and critics.

For Book Club of Washington members (and a few others), a special printed keepsake has been laid in at the David Culbert article. This keepsake was printed by John Kristensen of Firefly Press, Boston, using the actual matrices commissioned by Daniel Berkeley Updike's Merrymount Press. We are grateful to John and to David Culbert for contributing this beautiful keepsake for our *Journal* and members. Thank you!

Best regards, your editor
— Claudia Skelton

A memorable visit to legendary San Francisco rare book dealers, thirty years ago,
begins a rewarding journey as a book collector.

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First Adventures in the Rare Book World

GARY ACKERMAN

It was 1982. Robin and I had just settled into our room in a nice boutique hotel just off Union Square in downtown San Francisco. Two years before we had spent a day or two in San Francisco as part of our trip to California's wine and gold counties just before we got married and were looking forward to exploring this great city in more depth. In fact, I was on a bit of mission. I had recently bought my first fine press book, *Printing Poetry* by Clifford Burke, at Peter Miller Books in Seattle (a quality bookstore, then as now, specializing in architecture and design). This beautifully produced book about layout and typographical

issues suggested to me that I might get more out of *Leaves of Grass* if I had a better edition than my dog-eared Signet paperback.

I checked the yellow pages for used and rare book dealers (no Internet!) to see who might be within walking distance of our hotel and found several. The first was John Howell – Books located just a block or so down from our hotel. Suitably attired in my tweed sport coat, I proceeded to John Howell – Books, which was, as many readers of the *Journal* will remember, a quintessential rare book store. With its traditional storefront, it looked just like a fine bookstore from the movies or London. Mind you, I had never been in a rare book store before (a visit to Shorey's for books on golf notwithstanding) and was intimidated by the rather formal atmosphere I encountered upon entering. Dark and deep with shelves and shelves of leather bound



JOHN HOWELL—BOOKS has been a familiar feature of the Union Square area of San Francisco for nearly seven decades.

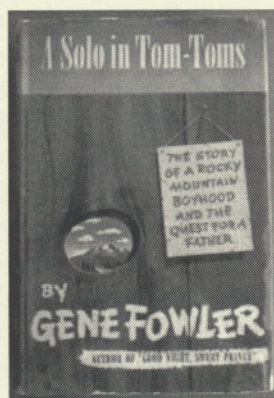
Photo from *AB Bookman's Weekly*,
February 11, 1985.

old books, it looked more like a gentleman's library than any bookstore I had been in. I did not know where to start looking. There was no signage for novels, mysteries, cookbooks, sports, self-help or poetry. In the distance, I could see little pools of light where men in dark suits and green visors – (I may be imagining the

visor part) – were bending over their desks, working on I knew not what. One such person approached and asked if I was looking for anything in particular. I got the impression that this was not a place for browsing. I mildly panicked but remembered my mission – a nice edition of *Leaves of Grass*. Thank goodness I had something specific to ask for or I would just have apologized for bothering him and backed out. He took me to the back wall, which seemed to house their less expensive items, and handed me a *Leaves of Grass* with a grass-like cover. It was the Doubleday, Doran and Company edition published in 1940, without slipcase and in rather shabby condition. I felt this edition would not greatly improve my enjoyment of Whitman so I passed on it and beat a hasty retreat.

By now I was having a crisis of confidence and wondered whether to continue my quest; but Robin was off shopping (I. Magnin?) and I still had some time on my hands. So I decided to try the next closest dealer on my list – Randall House, just a few blocks away. I was a bit concerned to find that it was located on an upper floor, not a storefront. My unease only increased when I had to push a buzzer for entry. I remember standing there facing the closed door and buzzer feeling that this was going to be even more intimidating than Howell's. Nevertheless, I pushed the button and the door was quickly opened by an attractive young woman, tall with red hair and a friendly manner. She welcomed me in and allowed me to browse the shelves in their sunlight front room, where I found mostly newer books in dust jackets – familiar territory. All were in nice condition and well-displayed.

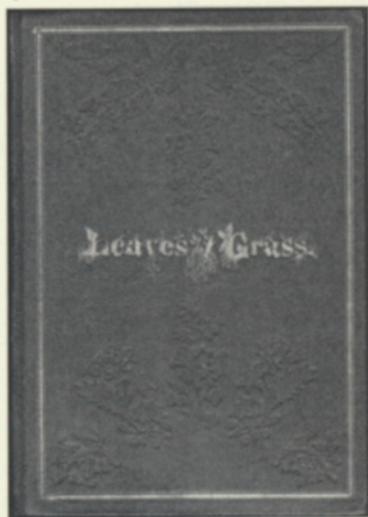
I quickly noticed *A Solo in Tom-Toms* by Gene Fowler. This memoir of his early years in Colorado (first edition in dust jacket) was quite affordable at ten dollars. You see, I had just finished H. Allen Smith's entertaining biography of Gene Fowler, who started as a newspaper reporter known for covering murder trials in high prose and later as a writer of screenplays and biographies of his close Hollywood pals. His best known work was *Good Night, Sweet Prince: The Life and Times of John Barrymore*. I decided that *A Solo in*



Tom-Toms would be a nice way to start collecting books and took it to the young lady at the desk. When she asked whether there was anything else I was looking for, I timidly mentioned that I was looking for a nice edition of *Leaves of Grass*. She said that they had a first edition and asked if I would I like to see it. I said yes but warned her that I was sure it was far beyond my budget. She said not to worry and unlocked the door to an adjacent room.

The room was fairly large, with bookshelves on all walls. I immediately saw first editions of Fitzgerald and Hemingway and understood that this room was

where their best books were kept. She then pulled from the shelf and handed to me a beautiful green box which I opened to find a pristine first edition of *Leaves of Grass*, the thin volume published in 1855. It had a green binding with the title embossed in gold on the cover. I suddenly



Leaves of Grass, 1855 front cover. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library Rare books & Manuscripts Department. Licensed on Flickr to Creative Commons.

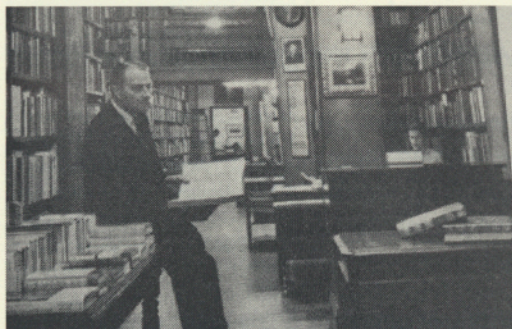
became so warm that I had to shed my tweed sport coat. I was struck with how beautiful this book was. Not just the cover but the paper and printing, as though it was printed yesterday. The text had a generous format with plenty of white space. It was also much thinner than I expected. I was informed that *Leaves of Grass* went through many editions, each larger than the previous because Whitman merely kept adding poems to his prior edition until his last, the "Death Bed" edition published in 1891-92. I asked her, strictly for academic purposes, how much a book like this would cost. She said twelve thousand five hundred dollars, which I confirmed was indeed out of my price range (assuming I wanted to stay married).

After carefully putting *Leaves of Grass* back to rest in its box, I started looking around the room when my eye drifted to a collection of books on top of the bookcase on the far wall. There in a long row covering the entire length of the bookcase were the original manuscripts and first or limited editions of most of the works of Gene Fowler! Since he was a journalist, the manuscripts were his original typed sheets and initial edits. I was startled at the coincidence, which seemed almost mystical, like something out of *Golf in the Kingdom* (a mystical golf book). I asked about the Fowler material. It was on consignment from his family and carried an asking price of twelve thousand five hundred dollars – exactly the same price as the slim first edition of *Leaves of Grass*! I instinctively knew that buying a first edition of *Leaves of Grass* in such remarkable condition, expensive as it was, would be a better purchase than the entire works of Gene Fowler.

I passed on that edition of *Leaves of Grass* as well but left Randall House feeling strangely triumphant. I do not mean to cast a harsh light on John Howell – Books, which I wish were still there, just off Union Square in San Francisco. My discomfort on my initial (and as it turned out, only) visit was certainly more a reflection of my lack of experience than with my treatment, which was efficient and courteous. In the end, I had a marvelous and memorable afternoon visiting

two of the stellar rare book dealers on the West Coast and have, with increasing confidence, enjoyed haunting used and rare book stores ever since.

Postscript. I recently called Randall House to verify my recollections of that afternoon and was fortunate to speak with its founder, Ron Randall. Before start-



Warren Howell at John Howell – Books. Photo from *AB Bookman's Weekly*, February 11, 1985.

ing Randall House in 1975, he learned about the business first from his father, David A. Randall, who for many years was head of Scribners rare book department and later head of the Lilly Library at Indiana University, and then from Warren Howell at John Howell – Books where Ron worked for almost ten years before opening his shop. Ron verified that suits

and ties were indeed required at John Howell – Books (except on Saturdays, when the standard was relaxed to a sport coat and tie). Warren Howell was an imposing presence at his large desk in the back of the store. The young woman at Randall House who so kindly helped me would have been Claudia Ropers, who ran marathons when not selling books. The edition of *Leaves of Grass* I held could have been the one from his father's collection that was described in his first catalogue. They were unable to find a buyer for the Fowler collection, so, with permission, sold it in separate lots. Just a few years after my visit, Randall House moved to a wonderful old adobe building in Santa Barbara, where serious collectors (and browsers) of books and art are still welcome. John Howell – Books closed its doors after Warren Howell's death in 1984.

I have no idea what the Gene Fowler collection, were it still intact, would be worth today, but it would most certainly be a fraction – a small fraction – of the \$230,000 paid for a first edition *Leaves of Grass* sold at a Sotheby's auction last October.

Gary Ackerman is Treasurer of the Book Club of Washington. An attorney and partner at Foster Pepper PLLC, Gary also performs with several Seattle choral groups. He has broad collecting and reading interests, including Dard Hunter, architecture, design, golf, and Walt Whitman.

A twenty-first century archival record reveals students' perceptions of the enduring significance of the physical academic library.

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The Library as Place – Really Early in the Morning

MICHAEL J. PAULUS, JR.

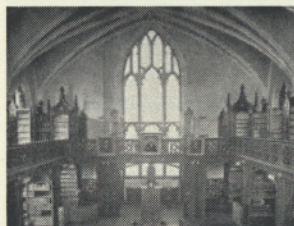
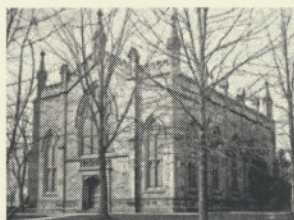
This paper brings together the concept of the academic library as a unique place with a concrete record of undergraduate students' perceptions of an academic library in a specific space and time. As an object of study, "the library as place" – the attempt to appreciate and articulate how libraries as physical spaces have special significance – has received a good amount of attention in recent years.¹ At the same time, through new construction and renovation projects, library facilities are being physically transformed into new types of spaces. A record worth bringing into this larger conversation about the library as a significant and distinct place worthy of preservation is a signature book of winners of a late-night study challenge at Whitman College, a small liberal arts college in the Pacific Northwest. In this record book students record their thoughts before leaving the library's main reading room really early in the morning. Before highlighting some of the enduring essential elements of "the library as place" that are revealed in this record, it is worth reviewing some current thinking and trends that are shaping academic library spaces and, consequently, the future form and function of the academic library.

THE FUTURE OF THE LIBRARY AS PLACE

In a printed codex from the last century, which the author discovered while looking for something else in an academic library, there is this interesting statement about the future of the library:

The library of tomorrow must be one that retains not only the best of the past but also a sense of the history of libraries and human communication. Without that, the library will be purely reactive, a thing of the moment, sometimes useful and sometimes not but never central to human society. With a sense of history and the knowledge of enduring values and the continuity of our mission, the library can never be destroyed. Along with this sense of time future being contained in time past, there must be the acceptance of the challenges of innovation. It is neither the easiest of prescriptions nor the most fashionable, but libraries need to combine the past and the future in a rational, clear-headed, unsentimental manner.²

This is from Walt Crawford and Michael Gorman's book *Future Libraries: Dreams, Madness, & Reality*, which appeared in 1995. During the last fifteen years,



Lenox Library, Princeton Theological Seminary, built in 1843. Courtesy Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Libraries.

dreams and madness – and the realities that might distinguish one from the other – have hardly remained static. For example, Crawford and Gorman assert that “[g]randiose schemes for massive online text databases do not work.”³ Nevertheless, they make a profoundly important point here: libraries, through their collections, services, and spaces, should facilitate encounters with a full experience of human temporality – of the past, the present, and the future – through, as Augustine described it, memory, perception, and expectation.⁴

Looking back at the history of academic library buildings, Scott Bennett identifies three “paradigms” that have influenced the design of library spaces. First, there were reader-centered buildings. Books were scarce and spaces were designed for readers. An early example of this emphasis is the library built for

Princeton Theological Seminary in 1843.⁵ Following the nineteenth century and the mass production of paper publications, new types of buildings were needed that could hold large collections. The Penrose Memorial Library at Whitman College, built in 1956, is an example of this emphasis. In these more book-centered buildings, readers were quickly displaced by books. This displacement was not immediate, however. At Whitman, a year after the opening of the Penrose Library, the college librarian reported that:

pleasant surroundings and accessibility of book stacks do accelerate study habits. The tremendous increase in circulation is only a small measure of increased activity and use of library materials and services. The student demand for more library hours [e.g., on Sunday afternoons] reflects only a part of their enthusiasm. Students like the scattered arrangement of study facilities, the quiet atmosphere and the accessibility of materials.⁶



Penrose Memorial Library, Whitman College, built in 1956. Courtesy Whitman College and Northwest Archives.

Throughout the twentieth century, though, the need to accommodate collection growth dominated the use of most library buildings. As advances in digital modes of communication accelerated near the end of the century, library planners began wondering to what extent virtual library spaces could supersede physical library spaces. With this rather swift shift in thinking, the second greatest space need of libraries – student study space – came to the fore, and what Bennett calls a learning-centered paradigm began to emerge. Since “information is now superabundant rather than scarce and now increasingly resident in virtual rather than in physical space,” Bennett says, “the design challenge is less with the interaction of readers and books and more with the connection between space and learning.”⁷ Bennett concludes his discussion of library paradigm shifts by claiming that the fundamental choice “is that between viewing the library as an information repository on the one hand and as a learning enterprise on the other.”⁸

Planners and designers of libraries, it seems, have been and are choosing the latter. In *The Academic Library Building in the Digital Age*, the first comprehensive study of new library buildings constructed in the twenty-first century, Christopher Stewart observes “a shift in emphasis from space for physical collections to information technology and the changing needs of students as the strongest motivators for planning new buildings.”⁹ In addition, Stewart reports that nearly two-thirds of respondents “reported static or declining levels of acquisition for print materials.”¹⁰ Stewart’s findings are reflected in Michael Wescott Loder’s recent report of his tours of ten new library buildings at Duke University, Emory University, MIT, six public universities, and one private liberal arts college. Loder observed that “[b]ook collections are no longer front and center.”¹¹ He writes:

As spaces for collections have declined in importance, spaces for users have become paramount. This means more human-friendly rooms, plenty of table or carrel space, studies with windows, food and drink cafés or vending machines, extended hours, and games to entertain.¹²

Additionally, Loder claims that “[a]ll the libraries [he] visited have a specific collection size in mind and do not intend to exceed that limit.”¹³

Academic libraries’ commitment to the library as a repository seems to have reached a crucial physical as well as philosophical limit. Perhaps the most extreme sign of this was the plan for the medical library at The Johns Hopkins University, announced in 2010, which involves moving collections online and offsite, embedding librarians (called informationists) in various departments, and vacating the building within two years.¹⁴

In a rather different vein, in an article called “Regaining Place,” Charles Osburn brings together insights from a number of fields to argue for “enriching the library experience through the conscious nurturing of a sense of place.”¹⁵

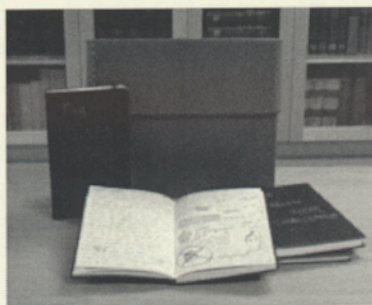
Osburn defines place as a site where an individual perceives a special *genius loci* and is inspired by that awareness. In a library, this experience has to do with the presence of diverse ideas, manifested in a variety of formats, which are presented with the possibilities of immersion, discovery, and the creation of new ideas. "The library," he says, "sets the stage then steps back to allow us to construct, create, and clarify."¹⁶ A library should provide us with much more than information – it should offer us a context and support services for contemplation, informed serendipity, and understanding. Osburn challenges library planners to "identify and strengthen those elements in the library setting" that contribute to these ends, "but with such accommodations as may be necessary in a hybrid environment that emphasizes its digital dimension."¹⁷ Osburn's vision includes "varied learning environments," but he adds: "Our responsibility is to preserve what can reasonably be preserved of the library as place and to accommodate current and emerging service potentials accordingly."¹⁸

Rather than choosing the model of the library as a "learning enterprise" over against the library as an "information repository," it is possible to think of the library as a learning "laboratory as well as a physical and digital repository."¹⁹ There remain opportunities for greater historical continuities in the conceptualization or even reconceptualization of the library by conserving more rather than less of what libraries have been historically. The challenge, as Osburn and others point out, is to identify and preserve those essential elements that facilitate unique experiences "of sensing past, present, and future simultaneously" and make libraries "transcendent and transportive" places.²⁰

THE ALLEN READING ROOM CHALLENGE BOOK

At Whitman College, a small liberal arts college in the small town of Walla Walla, Washington, the library can be said to be at the center of the campus, physically and intellectually, day and night – and especially at night, since the library is open 24/7 during the academic year. In 2006 and again in 2007, the library was rated number five in the Princeton Review's Best College Library category.²¹ In a survey conducted in early 2006, completed by about seventy-five percent of the student body, ninety-two percent of the respondents reported using the library and even more – ninety-five percent – were satisfied or very satisfied with the library overall. About eighty percent reported visiting the library in person daily or weekly to access books (forty-two percent), articles (thirty-seven percent), and course reserves (fifty-three percent). Interestingly, eighty-two percent were satisfied or very satisfied with the book collection. More than half of the responses in the open comments section had to do with the facility, both positive (the word "atmosphere" appears a number of times) and negative (most of these focused on noise and a lack of adequate study space).²² These responses and other statistics

gathered by the library provide some information about how students use and view the library, but they do not go very far in revealing how students perceive the



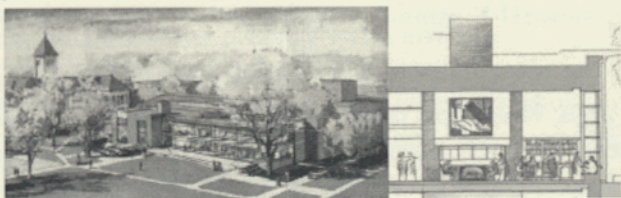
*The Allen Reading Room Challenge books.
Courtesy the author.*

library as a distinct place. Do they recognize or appreciate the library as a unique location in space and time, as a place that facilitates rich immersion in what is known about the past, the discovery of new insights in the present, and the creation of new knowledge? In the archives of the college library, there is a unique record that sheds some light on this question: the Allen Reading Room Challenge Book.

The Whitman College Library was one of the first academic libraries in the Pacific Northwest. It began in 1882 when the school, chartered in 1859 and opened in 1866, became a college. The library quickly grew out of its apartments in the college's first and second buildings. It expanded into a wood shack, relocated to a former dormitory building, and expanded again into a concrete annex. In 1957, the library finally moved into the college's first real library building. Planning was soon underway for additional space, and the library was renovated and expanded in 1974.²³

In 1998, Whitman announced plans to renovate and expand its library a second time. According to the architect, Thomas Hacker, the design of the new space emphasized the library's role as both the "physical and the intellectual crossroads of the campus."²⁴

The project reconfigured and added extensions to the 1956 block and its 1974 wing, which provided space for growth of the physical



Architectural sketches of the new Penrose Library and the Allen Reading Room, 1998. Courtesy Whitman College and Northwest Archives.

collection for twenty-five years (assuming an increase of twelve thousand volumes a year) and "increase[d] space for students to study and work."²⁵ One of the extensions to the older building was a new reading room. Inspired by the Venetian Gothic library that architect Frank Furness designed for the University of Pennsylvania in the late nineteenth century, Hacker described his vision of the new Penrose Library main reading room as "a collegiate, warm, wood-paneled room with broad wood tables, a fireplace, traditional sofas and armchairs, and bookshelves lining the walls." "We want," Hacker said, "a room where students feel they can hang out all night."²⁶ Hanging out all night was an important part

of the plan for the new library. The article in the alumni magazine that announced the plans for the new library opened with this: "From inside Penrose Memorial Library early-bird students – and those just completing all-nighters – will be able to contemplate Walla Walla's rich morning sunshine as it fills the green expanse of Ankeny Field."²⁷ For some years, the library had been open twenty-four hours a day, five days a week. But when the new building opened in 2000, it remained open – twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, while classes were (and are) in session.



The Allen Reading Room, 2009. Courtesy the author.

The library and the Hacker's room, the Allen Reading Room, immediately became places where students hung out all night.²⁸ In February 2003, two students left a blank Moleskine notebook on the mantle of the fireplace in the student-nominated quiet room and initiated a late-night study challenge. "The Allen's Room Challenge: The Official Record" was written on the cover of the notebook and on the first page appeared the "Rules of the Challenge":

1. No person shall win the challenge who has not been in the Reading Room since 10:46 p.m. If a majority of time has been spent outside of the Reading Room or asleep, that person shall forfeit his or her claim.
2. Persons seeking Honors shall have been in the Reading Room since 6:13 p.m.
3. Winners shall be the last person to leave the Reading Room on any given night. Winners are still eligible if those persons remaining are recent arrivals or asleep.
4. Winners shall sign this record and include name, date, time left and time began, and the name of the professor who was the primary motivation for the contestant's victory. [This rule was augmented in August 2005 with this:] Also included should be any evidence of notable insanity.
5. Winners are encouraged to celebrate through song or dance before leaving.²⁹

Table 1 shows some summary statistics about the four volumes in the archives, which span more than seven years. There is an average of sixty-eight entries by fifty-two students per year, representing a small percentage (about three percent) of the student population. No gender dominates the challenge. Most students

are working in the humanities, but students in the social and natural sciences are present as well. The average departure time is 5:16 a.m.³⁰

| | Spring 2003 | 2003/ 2004 | 2004/ 2005 | 2005/ 2006 | 2006/ 2007 | 2007/ 2008 | 2008/ 2009 | 2009/ 2010 | Averages |
|----------------------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------|
| Entries | 46 | 100 | 103 | 53 | 62 | 70 | 47 | 62 | 68 |
| Individuals | 33 | 56 | 62 | 52 | 42 | 56 | 45 | 73 | 52 |
| Male | 45% | 44% | 47% | 41% | 55% | 55% | 42% | 48% | 47% |
| Female | 55% | 56% | 53% | 59% | 45% | 45% | 58% | 52% | 53% |
| % of student body | 2% | 4% | 4% | 3% | 3% | 4% | 3% | 5% | 3% |
| Average departure time | 3:53 a.m. | 5:21 a.m. | 5:22 a.m. | 5:36 a.m. | 5:59 a.m. | 5:29 a.m. | 4:56 a.m. | 5:33 a.m. | 5:16 a.m. |
| Entries associated with subjects | 70% | 67% | 46% | 65% | 31% | 47% | 43% | 36% | 51% |
| Humanities | 30% | 46% | 40% | 46% | 43% | 49% | 48% | 48% | 44% |
| Social sciences | 21% | 24% | 34% | 38% | 38% | 41% | 30% | 45% | 34% |
| Natural sciences | 48% | 31% | 26% | 15% | 19% | 11% | 22% | 7% | 22% |

Table 1

fingerprints.³¹ (There are not as many records obviously created by inebriated students as one might expect.) There are at least a couple false entries – the names of the Lone Ranger and Jean Valjean are inscribed in one book.³² Scatological humor does not appear until the third year. Nakedness is only mentioned once (“Around 11 p.m. we had a visit from some naked folks. It really electrified the evening for me”³³). Over all, the entries seem genuine and true to the aim of the challenge: to record who is in the library at late hours and why.

After a couple months and couple dozen entries, diverse reflections begin to enter into the record. There are oft-repeated variations of “AHHH!” and “I can see light outside!”³⁴; reflective analyses of study habits (“I’m a bad student, and a bad writer—but not a bad person”³⁵); parting thoughts about one’s work (“I now know everything about a planet that does not exist. Cheers!”³⁶); and, of course, clever quotations (“Oh, that this too too sullied flesh would melt”³⁷). There are also numerous references to the licit substances that sustain such late-night study sessions: Red Bull, caffeine, and candy (all of which are available in the library’s café, open Sunday through Thursday, 8 p.m.-2 a.m.).

A year after the challenge’s start, students’ reflections begin to become even more interesting. This was noted by one student, a regular winner, who complained about the increasing number of “pointless entries”: “I thought this [book] was for people who just studied hard, but now it seems as though the rules have changed.”³⁸ As if in response to this complaint, the next entry reads more like a personal journal entry: After “a day of rejection” and “getting past the stage of lamentation,” this student wandered into the library to read an article in *Nature* and an act of *King Lear*.³⁹ Beyond-the-rules comments increased, and in these are found the most interesting revelations about students’ use and perceptions

of the library.⁴⁰ Here are eleven of the more revealing entries apropos to considerations of the library as place:

- [12:40 a.m.:] Came seeking solace in a good book ... This room emits grace and knowledge, youth unfettered and ambitions un-yet obtained.⁴¹
- [2-something a.m.:] Have been reading about the implications of Malvolio's YELLOW SOCKS for hours. It's a paper on fashion, ladies and gentlemen.⁴²
- [2:40:] Geologic and Geographic browsing. There is some tasty stuff downstairs in the P[acific] N[north] W[est] special collection.⁴³
- [4:38 a.m.:] Friday night: I find the sweet intoxication of books much preferable to the alternative.⁴⁴
- [4:45 a.m.:] Wow, I'm such a loser ... Ahh, I have just finished writing in my journal, having made a single day record for myself of 25 pages. This, and I have truly excessive amounts of homework in my backpack that I really should be doing. [At this point it appears that the writer crossed out 4:45 and then wrote:] 5:30, damn magazines. [Popular magazines and books are displayed in the library reading room.]
- [Almost 5 a.m.:] I've been here since lunch. I want to finish this paper so I can start my next one before it's time to study for orals. There is a guy here snoring. I keep dropping books but it doesn't seem to help. I wish I had a pie I could throw at him.⁴⁵
- [5:00 a.m.:] "Zero makes me hungry" in the W[hitman] C[ollege] author publications has some excellent poems. Esp. about death.⁴⁶ [The student who wrote this entry was mourning the loss of her grandmother, and these comments are preceded by a lengthy lament. She appears to have found some comfort in a book in the Whitman author collection, a group of materials shelved in the library reading room.]
- [5:07 a.m.:] This is a night of reading, of random research based on my own interest, my own pursuit of knowledge, my quest to read as much of the gay literature this gorgeous library boasts (as I can) before I graduate.⁴⁷
- [6:30 a.m.:] I'm glad Whitman has a nice library or my college experience (stupid pen) may have been much less pleasurable, or at least these first 2 months.⁴⁸
- [7:30 a.m.:] After reading about the history of the theory of intelligence, I began [sic] to wonder about computer intelligence and exactly how computers learn. I found a book by Dr. Jonathan Schaeffer entitled *One Jump Ahead* (1997) about his quest to create a program that

could conquer the World Checkers Champion. This book is not as relevant as it was 10 years ago as a study of checkers (the game was solved sometime in the past 3 years), but it was very interesting as an introductory study in how to build computer programs that can play extremely complex games. Because Go is my game of choice, I suppose I'll start reading on that. Also, about two a.m., I temporarily forgot how to write the letter "f."⁴⁹

[Untimed and written by alternating hands:] [1st hand:] When I look at the empty reading room, specters of studying students now sleeping, I think maybe an isolationist U.S. foreign policy isn't such a bad idea. [2nd hand:] But then I recall the pages of their histories, being written as we speak here, their eyes will leave but not their spirits; perhaps we should invade the Poles. [1st:] They whisper words from books that have never been opened [2nd:] like CB361.H65 (see page 47 for hidden message).⁵⁰ [The author checked and failed to discover a hidden message.]

These comments suggest a number of elements that make an academic library a "transcendent and transportive" place that cultivates curiosity, contemplation, and creativity. Here are six of the most salient:

1. The symbolic capital of traditional library spaces, which inspire readers and present them with collections for use.⁵¹
2. The conspicuous presence of interesting materials that may lead to new discoveries (or distractions).
3. The presence of unique local collections and materials, with historical depth and/or communal relevance, which can be seen and studied. Robert Darnton says that when we finally come into a world predominantly populated with digital texts and readers, "research libraries will be able to concentrate on what has always been their strength: special collections ... [which] will be richer than ever in their holdings of old-fashioned books and manuscripts."⁵² The same can be true for college libraries, too. Special collections can be used to teach about the continuum of knowledge and communication and give a library a tangible and unique *esprit de place*.⁵³
4. The experience of engaging deep, focused collections developed over time.
5. The experience of an aesthetically pleasing, well designed library space that is conducive for library activities both physical and virtual.⁵⁴ (Interestingly, a recent study found a significant positive correlation

between perceptions of available electronic resources and physical use of a library building.⁵⁵)

6. Physical arrangement that supports serendipity.⁵⁶

CONCLUSION

A distinguishing characteristic of the library as a place is its historic function as a unique site of textual encounter and possibility. Now that digital communication technologies have multiplied sites of reading and engagement, many now wonder what a library building is for. If the academic library is to persist as more than “an abstraction,” and with a building that is more than a glorified study hall, then libraries must identify and preserve the enduring essential elements of what the library as a place has been and can continue to be.⁵⁷

The Allen Reading Room Challenge books document the perceptions of recent undergraduate students in a specific academic library really early in the morning. Many of the unsolicited and spontaneous inscriptions in these books support an ideal of the library as a place that is as ancient as the Library of Alexandria. Sam Demas describes this ideal place as one that provides “a unique cultural center that inspires, supports, and contextualizes it users’ engagement with scholarship.”⁵⁸ If academic library buildings continue to be repurposed under the influence of a “learning paradigm,” will too little of this ideal – and its realization in both the past and present – be preserved? Crawford and Gorman warn about the library becoming “purely reactive, a thing of the moment, sometimes useful and sometimes not but never central.” Arguing for more historical continuity, they advocate for retaining “the best of the past but also a sense of the history of libraries and human communication” while at the same time accepting “the challenges of innovation,” thereby combining “the past and the future.”⁵⁹

Places communicate what is possible and what is not, and the physical presence of well-developed collections in spaces designed well for their use are significant manifestations of the library’s role of transmitting knowledge through space and time. Darnton says that libraries “have always been and always will be centers of learning. Their central position in the world of learning makes them ideally suited to mediate between the printed and digital modes of communication.”⁶⁰ This centrality, and the ability to mediate between the past, present, and future, depends on collections and services coming together concretely in the library as a physical place.

NOTES

This paper was presented by the author at Library History Seminar XII: Libraries in the History of Print Culture, in Madison, Wisconsin, September 2010.

1. See, for example, *The Library as Place: Rethinking Roles, Rethinking Space* (Washington, D.C.: Council on Library and Information Resources, 2005); John E. Buschman and Gloria J. Leckie, eds., *The Library as Place: History, Community, and Culture* (Westport, Conn.: Libraries Unlimited, 2007).
- 2-3. Walt Crawford and Michael Gorman, *Future Libraries: Dreams, Madness, & Reality* (Chicago, Ill.: American Library Association, 1995), 12, 69.
4. Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. by R. S. Pine-Coffin (New York: Penguin Group, 1961), see esp. 269.
5. On the history of the Princeton Theological Seminary Library, see Michael J. Paulus, Jr., "Beyond 'Pabulum for the Undergraduates': The Development of the Princeton Theological Seminary Library in the Nineteenth Century," *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 42:3 (2007): 231-67.
6. Ruth Reynolds, Librarian's Report, 1958, Library Records, Whitman College and Northwest Archives (hereafter WCNA).
- 7-8. Scott Bennett, "Libraries and Learning: A History of Paradigm Change," *portal: Libraries and the Academy* 9, 2 (April 2009): 186-87, 194.
9. This quote is from the abstract for the dissertation on which the book is based: Christopher Stewart, "The Academic Library Building in the Digital Age: A Study of New Library Construction and Planning, Design, and Use of New Library Space" (EdD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009), <http://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI3354345>.
10. Christopher Stewart, *The Academic Library Building in the Digital Age: A Study of Construction, Planning, and Design of New Library Space* (Chicago, Ill.: Association of College and Research Libraries, 2010), 54.
- 11-13. Michael Wescott Loder, "Libraries with a Future: How Are Academic Library Usage and Green Demands Changing Building Designs?," *College & Research Libraries* 71, 4 (July 2010): 352, 358, 357.
14. Steve Kolowich, "Embedded Librarians," *Inside Higher Ed*, June 9, 2010, <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2010/06/09/hopkins>.
- 15-18. Charles B. Osburn, "Regaining Place," *Advances in Library Administration and Organization* 24 (2007): 54, 70, 73, 76, 76-77. For Osborn's definition of place, see 63.
19. Patrik Svensson, "The Landscape of Digital Humanities," *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 4, 1 (Summer 2010), <http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/4/1/000080/000080.html>.
20. Sam Demas and Jeffrey A. Scherer, "Esprit de Place," *American Libraries*, April 2002, 65.
21. Recent ratings are: number five in 2006 (announced in 2005); number five in 2007 (announced in 2006); number seven in 2008 (announced in 2007); number twelve in 2009 (announced in 2008); and number 19 in 2010 (an-

- nounced in 2009).
22. Library Survey, 2006, Library Records, WCNA.
 23. On the history of the Whitman College Library, see Michael J. Paulus, Jr., "The Converging Histories and Futures of Libraries, Archives, and Museums as Seen through the Case of the Curious Collector Myron Eells," *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 46, 2 (2011): 185-205.
 - 24-27. "Crossroads of the College," *Whitman Magazine*, Fall 1998, 15, 14, 18, 14.
 28. For a student-created video that parodizes student behavior – mythical and not – in the library late at night or early in the morning, see "Study Hard," http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r_b1_EkVPZE.
 29. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2002-2005, WCNA; Allen Room Challenge Book, 2005-2007, WCNA.
 30. This is why, at 3:45 a.m., one student wrote: "I know its [sic] not really that late, but I am the last one in here ... Its [sic] so hard to keep writing after your friends drop by to visit on their way from one part[y] to another." Allen Room Challenge Book, 2009-2010, WCNA.
 - 31-32. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2002-2005, WCNA.
 33. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2007-2008, WCNA.
 34. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2002-2005, WCNA.
 35. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2005-2007, WCNA.
 - 36-37. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2002-2005, WCNA.
 38. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2005-2007, WCNA.
 39. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2002-2005, WCNA.
 40. If intent matters, then it is worth pointing out that the founders' entries include comments beyond what the initial challenge required: the bit about the planet was by one of them; the other's first entry includes a comment about wishing that a tree would stop talking to him. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2005-2007, WCNA.
 41. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2002-2005, WCNA.
 42. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2007-2008, WCNA.
 43. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2005-2007, WCNA.
 - 44-45. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2007-2008, WCNA.
 46. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2009-2010, WCNA.
 47. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2008-2009, WCNA.
 48. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2002-2005, WCNA.
 49. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2007-2008, WCNA.
 50. Allen Room Challenge Book, 2002-2005, WCNA.
 51. Geoffrey T. Freeman, "The Library as Place: Changes in Learning Patters, Collections, Technology, and Use," in *The Library as Place: Rethinking Roles, Rethinking Space*, see esp. 9. On the inspirational effects of traditional library

- spaces, see Heather Lea Jackson and Trudi Bellardo Hahn, "Serving Higher Education's Highest Goals: Assessment of the Academic Library as Place," *College & Research Libraries* 72, 5 (September 2011): 428-42.
52. Robert Darnton, "The Future of Libraries," in *The Case for Books: Past, Present, and Future* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2009), 55.
 53. Demas and Scherer, "Esprit de Place," 65.
 54. Bernard Frischer, "The Ultimate Internet Café: Reflections of a Practicing Digital Humanist about Designing a Future for the Research Library in the Digital Age," in *The Library as Place: Rethinking Roles, Rethinking Space*, see esp. 52. For a recent study of faculty perceptions about the relationship between space and scholarly work, see Karen Antell and Debra Engel, "Conduciveness to Scholarship: The Essence of Academic Library as Place," *College & Research Libraries* 67, 6 (November 2006): 536-60.
 55. Jennifer Gerke and Jack M. Maness, "The Physical and the Virtual: The Relationship between Library as Place and Electronic Collections," *College & Research Libraries* 71, 1 (January 2010): 20-31.
 56. A majority of students still seem to value browsing as "an important way" to find information. See Mann, Thomas, "The Research Library as Place: On the Essential Importance of Collections of Books Shelved in Subject-Classified Arrangements," in *The Library as Place: History, Community, and Culture*, see esp. 196.
 57. *No Brief Candle: Reconceiving Research Libraries for the 21st Century* (Washington, D.C.: Council on Library and Information Resources, 2008), 8, <http://www.clir.org/pubs/reports/pub142/pub142.pdf>. Stewart notes: "Interestingly, there is nothing that could necessarily be considered exclusive to the library in group studies and classrooms. These spaces, while they truly add value to the library, are not unique to the library in the way that book stacks, reading rooms, and reference desks are unique (and have, for centuries, visually and functionally defined the library's physical space) to the library." *The Academic Library Building in the Digital Age*, 70.
 58. Sam Demas, "From the Ashes of Alexandria: What's Happening in the College Library?," in *The Library as Place: Rethinking Roles, Rethinking Space*, 26.
 59. Crawford and Gorman, *Future Libraries*, 12.
 60. Robert Darnton, *The Case for Books: Past, Present, and Future*, xv-xvi.

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The aesthetic contribution of Daniel Berkeley Updike to *The Book of Common Prayer*, reasons why one need not be an Episcopalian to appreciate the complexities of designing a prayer book.

.....

Prayerful Consideration: The Episcopal Book of Common Prayer, 1892 (De Vinne) and 1928 (Updike)

DAVID CULBERT

"A Standard Book of Common Prayer in the manner and style of 1892 and 1928, is not in harmony with our commitment to respond substantively to human need." – Resolution, House of Bishops, General Convention of the Episcopal Church, New Orleans, September 1982.¹

Not every book collector is fascinated by editions and translations of the Bible; fewer yet collect copies of *The Book of Common Prayer*, orders of service for the Anglican Church, first printed in 1549. Nor is the title likely to catch the eye of non-Episcopalians. Bibliophiles shy away from "common" as a descriptive, lest it suggest something anyone can get – say a time-filler novel downloaded on a Kindle. But, as in many a church, liturgy means a great deal to the clergy, and to some, if not all of the laity. One of the early battles over *The Book of Common Prayer* involved English Puritans who hated the idea of a state religion and hated the idea of a service in which extemporaneous prayer had no place. At London's Savoy Conference in 1661, the Anglicans, aided by the support of King Charles II, restored to the throne after the excesses of Oliver Cromwell, showed little regard for compromise on the subject of extemporaneous prayer: "The gift or rather spirit of prayer consists in the inward graces of the spirit, not in expressions which any man of natural parts having a voluble tongue and audacity may attain without any special gift."²

The Book of Common Prayer, as Diarmaid MacCulloch reminds us, is "one of the most important books in the English language ... one of a handful of texts to have decided the future of a world language."³ The other two are the translation of the Bible into English by William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale, and the plays of Shakespeare. The special value of *The Book of Common Prayer* is found in short prayers, or collects, whose "almost haiku-like brevity" adds to their success. These collects are the work of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, responsible for the first *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549, and, as an Anglican, burned at the stake for heresy by the Roman Catholic Queen Mary in 1556.⁴

In 1789, the Protestant Episcopal Church took the English prayer book of 1662, deleted all references to the monarchy, and added prayers for the president of the United States. The English prayer book was the handbook of the state religion. To change a single comma required, literally, an Act of Parliament, which is one reason why the book remained unchanged until very recently. The American church made each diocesan bishop responsible for guaranteeing the accuracy of all editions published within the diocese; this helped retard calls for changes.

The second prayer book was published in 1892.⁵ Decades of resolutions led to the Joint Commission's revisions, accepted at the convention of bishops and lay delegates which met in Baltimore, Maryland, in October 1892. William R. Huntington, a Harvard graduate, and rector of Grace Church in New York City, was the moving force behind revision. He should have cringed at a fawning description of his skills which appeared in a church newspaper "by a member of the Joint Committee" just after the revised prayer book was approved: "With a witching mastery of style, of 'English undefiled,' a purist in his choice and use of words, and a knowledge in detail of every phrase and sentence of the *textus receptus* ... he was of all men in the American Episcopal Church the one for the position which came to him as his acknowledged right."⁶ He did publish a book of his activities favoring revision, but his published sermons would not get quite such high marks by today's reader, nor, truth to say, did the revised book approved in 1892 incorporate a great many changes.

The most original part of the Joint Commission's work was its decision to produce an elaborate Standard Edition, one which would appeal to the bibliophile, while at the same time add a sense of the book arts to a book often more known for its utilitarian value to the person attending a service, and asked to turn to the first page of the service for the day. The decision to have something elaborate came from a publishing subcommittee, consisting of William R. Huntington; William Croswell Doane, Bishop of Albany, the leading supporter of revision in the House of Bishops; and a layman whose name is far better remembered, J. Pierpont Morgan, the financier, ardent Episcopalian, and book collector whose collection is today housed in New York City's Morgan Library. Morgan was fascinated by the triennial conventions of the church, and attended each with an enthusiasm few would share. Morgan did not wish his benefactions to be trumpeted aloud, but also was happy for them to be known, if in not too crass a fashion. That same gushing newspaper article, "by a member of the Joint Committee," could not restrain itself when it turned to Morgan's contribution.

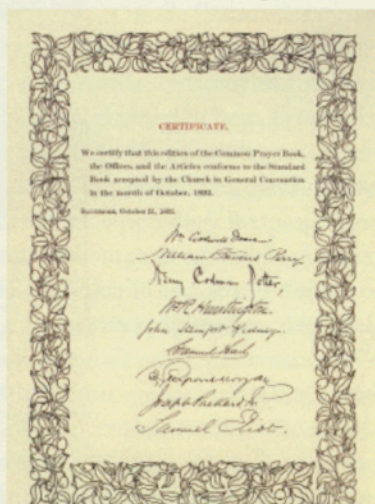
That the completed and perfected Standard, just issued from the De Vinne press, appears in the sumptuous form which makes it confessedly the finest

production of the American printer's art is due to Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, who from the moment of his appointment as a member of the committee on the Standard has never ceased devising liberal things for the furtherance of the work. ... Through the generosity of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan ... each of the nine members of the Joint Committee ... will receive a copy of the folio Standard entirely printed on velum, of which but twelve will be printed, and the ever-appreciating value of which can readily be understood.⁷

Irene Tichenor, in her excellent recent biography of Theodore Low De Vinne, offers valuable information about the gestation of the very book which De Vinne himself (a person given to self-effacement) took from his library shelf to show a visitor. He considered it, next to a fifteenth century book he owned and loved, to be the "second-greatest" book ever published.⁸

The problem with the limited edition of the 1892 prayer book had to do with actions of the publication subcommittee, the one consisting of Huntington, Doane, and Morgan. They decided on an elaborate special edition, and commissioned a relation to create borders for the book. The amateurish work proved impossible to use. Why were these committee members so interested in borders, or in creating a lavish special edition of the prayer book? Few have thought about the obvious connection between the American book of 1892 and two brilliant pieces of English fine printing: the folio English prayer book of 1844, often called the Queen Victoria prayer book; and the so-called Queen Elizabeth prayer book of 1853, with borders surrounding every single page, borders engraved on wood by Mary Byfield, a woman of remarkable talent, as well as remarkable industry. Both books were printed by Charles Whittingham's Chiswick Press, and both bore the imprint of William Pickering.

It is inconceivable that De Vinne was not familiar with these books. In 1896 he published for the Grolier Club a remarkable example of fine printing, *The Charles Whittinghams Printers*, by Arthur Warren, with page after page of decorations expertly reproduced, almost all of which are by Mary Byfield. The Warren volume not only discusses the prayer books Whittingham printed in 1844 and 1853, but one entire chapter is printed with borders surrounding each page, to show the



Facsimile signatures, 1892. The signatures of the members of the Joint Committee attest to the accuracy of the new revision. J. Pierpont Morgan's signature is third from the bottom.

effect. We can be sure that J. Pierpont Morgan, ardent Episcopal bibliophile, would have known about the finest examples of prayer book design and printing in Victorian England. So, too, was the success of the Whittinghams familiar to Daniel Berkeley Updike, who kept some of their books on the shelf in his office at the press he founded. He recommends the Whittingham prayer books in a note to the clergy about ecclesiastical printing published in 1896.⁹

Theodore Low De Vinne (1848-1914) was a highly-successful commercial printer, one who kept abreast of technical change, and also a self-taught scholar of printing, and the printing business, with a number of fine books to his credit. He was not a distinguished book designer; he would not ever have called himself a book designer. He was not much interested in typography save for an abiding enthusiasm for legible type, printed beautifully on a paper that allowed for superb printing of woodcuts, something requiring layers of so-called underlays, to allow for subtle gradations of color impossible if ink were applied to paper at exactly the same amount of pressure. As a result, even the skillful presentation of De Vinne's career by Irene Tichenor does not persuade us that book art is Theodore Low De Vinne's lasting contribution.

The 1892 subcommittee on printing selected De Vinne to print the revised prayer book, instructing him as to exactly the size type he should use. Not only that, but canon law required that the new standard edition contain exactly the same pagination as would be obtained in any version of the new prayer book published anywhere. Canon 46 created a new Custodian of the Book of Common Prayer, whose job (presumably not requiring round-the-clock work) required that he examine any version of a prayer book, give his official permission, and date that permission, a copy of which appeared in every copy printed. The book, printed in what we remember as De Vinne type, is clearly legible, but not gorgeous.

DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE'S ROLE

Daniel Berkeley Updike (1860-1941), was born in Providence, Rhode Island. He proudly let it be known that his family had been Episcopalians for 300 years. He was less proud of coming from a fine family fallen on hard times. He was unable to attend college, not realizing how atypical it was for the average American to attend college in the 1880s. He backed his way into printing, and to the end of his life wanted readers to know that he did not really like printing, only learned how to print after many years, and that his life's work came to him slowly, with much toil and little pleasure. Indeed, Updike not only seemed, in person, to be an unhappy man, he was an unhappy man, and seems to have spent his life either creating a body of impressive work, or living alone, unloved and unhappy.

He first came to the attention of Episcopalians with the publication, in 1891, of *The Naming of Episcopal Churches in Rhode Island*, by two laymen, published



Now you see it: Marriage vows, 1892. The old-fashioned bride says "to love, cherish, and to obey, till death us do part." Updike was unhappy with the elaborate borders he was commissioned to design, and Goodhue drew. These were added to pages printed by De Vinne.



Now you don't: Marriage vows, 1928. The modern bride says "to love and to cherish, till death us do part." Updike's beautiful typography makes every page of *The Book of Common Prayer* a pleasure for the student of graphic design.

pages were already printed, they offered Updike a handsome sum to decorate the special edition. Updike says he turned the committee down. "They doubled their offer." He accepted.

He then turned to one of America's finest architects, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, to draw the border decorations, design the cover, and create the endpapers. The 1892 prayer book's colophon gives full credit to both Updike and Goodhue. Updike was unhappy with the results. As Updike tells it, he

chose Bertram Goodhue to make a series of borders based on the *Benedicite omnia opera*, for which I picked out appropriate texts. In these decorations Goodhue's line was very far from De Vinne's typography, and I fancy it was a painful task for the latter to reprint his uninspired but dignified book with the appliques so continuously, unremittingly (and sometimes unwillingly), supplied by Goodhue and myself. ... The best things about the book were the cover and charming end-papers which Goodhue designed for it. Sad to relate, the edition had an immediate and astounding success! We were congratulated, and we blushed. Our shame was taken for modesty and we were congratulated more!¹⁰

Look at the cover of the book, on the cover of this issue of the *Journal*. It is simply gorgeous. A copy in fine condition, the vellum white and pure, the brass hinges, suggesting a medieval touch, the endpapers in an inspired blend of thistle,

by Houghton & Mifflin's Riverside Press. The two laymen were Updike and his wealthy friend Harold Brown, of the Brown University family. The book, with its ardent enthusiasm for all things Episcopal, came to the attention of William R. Huntington, or J. Pierpont Morgan, or Bishop Doane, or perhaps all three.

Since the publication committee wanted borders surrounding every single page of the new prayer book, and the

rose, “Hosanna” and “Alleluia,” can hardly fail to impress. Think about the person for whom this book was intended – a bibliophile of means, and an Episcopalian. This was never a book that a priest would have used for a service. It is so large and



Gorgeous endpapers, 1892, drawn by Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, designed by Daniel Berkeley Updike. The Scottish thistle and Tudor rose symbolize the Episcopal Church's Scotch-English heritage. Bookplate from the Washington National Cathedral Library.

unwieldy that one would need a very large lap to accommodate it if sitting in a chair. This was meant to impress, to convey a sense of opulence, and, just possibly, a pride in fine American printing and design.

Not everyone is as familiar with the *Benedicite omnia opera* as I am. As a boy soprano in an Episcopal church, I remember dreading having to sing a setting of the *Benedicite*, thinking of its length, not the richness of its language. It is the third chant suggested following the first lesson in the service of Morning Prayer. Updike had a good idea – selecting appropriate phrases from this canticle, arranging them to fit the spirit of the text on a particular page, and using some thirty plants and vines, arranged as borders to surround the pages (for example, lilies for

Easter Sunday.) In sum, a clever piece of design. Updike to the end of his long life remembered, with, if anything, ever-growing shame, his involvement in the 1892 prayer book. Some have accepted his verdict too quickly. The designs do not fit with the typography. But the designs have their own special interest, and reflect the creativity of a man not yet running his own press, who recognized that what he was doing might create an entrée into the world of wealthy New York Episcopalians, not least, J. Pierpont Morgan, who in fact commissioned elaborate books from Updike in the following years.

What about Goodhue (1869-1924), the eminent architect, the partner of Ralph Adams Cram, the firm which designed St. Thomas Episcopal Church on 5th Avenue in New York City. Goodhue designed the University of Chicago's Rockefeller Chapel, and, the Spanish Colonial revival buildings at the San Diego exhibition of 1915, and even the first skyscraper state capitol (Lincoln, Nebraska), completed after his death. Cram, years after the break-up of his partnership with Goodhue, left a memorable description of his friend: “Blond, slender, debonair, with a ‘school-girl’ complexion and a native grace of carriage, he presented a personality made up of joy of life, fantastic humor, whimsical fads and fancies blended with ... an incomparable sense of beauty, an abounding friendliness.”¹² Goodhue was not just a gifted architect. He was also a designer of books, and

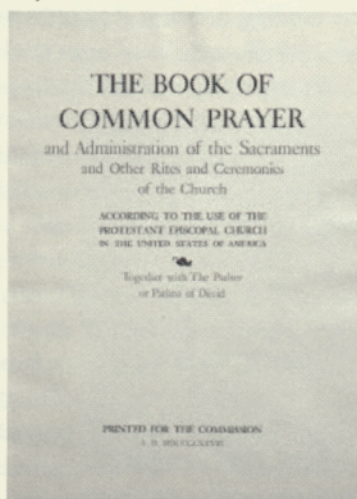
worked for Copeland & Day in Boston. Updike knew his work. It helps that Updike and Goodhue lived in the same block of Boston that Douglass Shand-Tucci has termed Bohemian Boston. Shand-Tucci, amidst clouds of innuendo, tries to demonstrate a homosexual relationship between Updike and Goodhue, culminating in Updike's Episcopal *Altar Book* of 1896. Shand-Tucci's reading is not persuasive. It seems simpler to look at what Goodhue was doing for Copeland & Day, and know that Updike and Goodhue knew each other socially, to understand why Updike chose an architect to design the cover of the 1892 prayer book.

THE 1928 PRAYER BOOK

The 1928 Book of Common Prayer's gestation has been told in masterful fashion by Martin Hutner, whose splendid leaf book, *The Making of The Book of Common Prayer of 1928*, is an outstanding analysis, helped by the inclusion of an original leaf printed on vellum at Updike's Merrymount Press.¹³

His book reproduces, in beautiful fashion, the four contestants for a coveted piece of fine printing: Bruce Rogers, Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, and Daniel Berkeley Updike. Hutner is unable to say who set up the competition, but might agree that the most likely candidate is J. Pierpont Morgan's extraordinary librarian, Belle da Costa Greene. Hutner's documentation shows exactly how Updike and Rogers, competitors who did not much like each other, courted Greene. When Rogers found out he was in a competition, he withdrew, in anger, and sent a large bill for his effort, a bill paid promptly.

Hutner allows us to see that tough negotiator, Belle da Costa Greene, in action. This smart African-American woman came to Morgan's attention through a Princeton family connection, and Greene spent the rest of her life negotiating for the finest manuscripts and books to add to the luster of the Morgan Library. She is memorable for having said that "just because I am a librarian doesn't mean I have to dress like one," and for, when asked if she and Morgan were ever lovers, replied: "We tried!" What a shame, then, that a recent biography of Greene, by Heidi Ardizzone, has lots

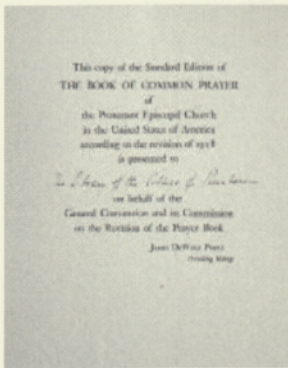


Updike's 1928 iconic masterpiece; initials and titling hand-drawn by W. A. Dwiggins. Though often reproduced in overviews of twentieth century printing, the title page's red and the impression of the Janson type on the handmade paper have to be seen in an original copy to be appreciated properly. Jeffrey Abt says, "The book is as American as a piece of colonial furniture, austere and solemn without being plain."

to say about Greene's passing for white, and yet more about Greene's alleged lovers (including Bernard Berenson) but does not contain a single word about Greene's negotiations with Updike over the printing of the 1928 prayer book.¹⁴ The vellum copies presented enormous difficulties. The cost overruns irritated Greene, who refused to pay for Updike's extra costs, passed along to Morgan.

Updike's 1928 prayer book, since its publication, has been recognized as his masterpiece, and as one of the finest examples of American fine printing in the twentieth century. If everyone praises this prayer book for its printing and design, few have much to say about the binding, in a dark red pigskin, the color selected by J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr., who paid for the entire cost of the book, including the vellum copies. Boston publisher David Godine's copy, one of five hundred on paper, is housed in a clamshell box. The color of the spine has rubbed onto the inside spine of the box. His copy, which he purchased new from the Morgan Library, contains a printed slip: "This volume should be kept under pressure until the binding is thoroughly seasoned." My copy, on paper, has a binding whose color could easily bleed onto the book next to it.

The 1892 prayer book's binding and endpapers are spectacular; the 1928 prayer



Presentation certificate, laid into the copy of Updike's masterpiece given to the Library of the Washington Cathedral's College of Preachers, whose new building had just been dedicated. Updike's volume was completed in 1930. This volume was also de-accessioned by the Washington National Cathedral Library in 2011.

book is a superb piece of typography. But nothing would be less successful than combining the two in a single volume. Referencing the quote at the top of this article, what about that unpleasant resolution from the 1982 Episcopal convention, insisting, piously, that money spent on fine printing should be used to help the poor? Helping the poor is always appropriate, but ignores the value of fine printing in liturgy. John Kristensen, who printed the keepsake to accompany this article, came, through liturgical printing, to an interest in organized religion, and now is the senior warden of an Episcopal Church in downtown Cambridge, Massachusetts. He told me his church has a Bruce Rogers *Oxford Lectern Bible* (1935). How would students of fine printing respond to a tiny, badly-printed volume, *The Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (1859), which insists on a different approach: "This present edition is small and cheap, and the profits

... shall be applied to charitable and religious purposes"?¹⁵ It is simply not true that disposable missals in the Roman Catholic Church worked as those bent on saving a few pennies had hoped. Fine printing serves a liturgical function.

1. [Isaac Gewirts, curator], *But One Use: An exhibition Commemorating the 450th Anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer* (New York: St. Mark's Library, General Theological Seminar, 1999), 155. See also David N. Griffiths, *The Bibliography of the Book of Common Prayer, 1549-1999* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2002). Both fine books, one must say, contain miserable examples of color printing.
2. Quoted in William Reed Huntington, *A Short History of the Book of Common Prayer Together with Certain Papers Illustrative of Liturgical Revision 1878-1892* (New York: Thomas Whittaker), 42.
3. Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer* (London: Everyman's Library, 1999), ix.
4. *Ibid.*, xix.
5. Huntington, *A Short History* ..., Comparative Table, Appendix, 235.
6. A Member of the Joint Committee, "The Evolution of the Standard Prayer Book of 1892," *The Independent*, n.d., n.p. [1893], accessed at http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1892Standard/independent_article.htm.
7. *Ibid.*, n.p. Frank E. Hopkins, De Vinne Press, remembered the order for the vellum copies some forty years later: "The door opened, and a big heavy-set man stopped at my desk. ... Mr. Morgan ... thought to commemorate their pleasant association by presenting each member of the committee a copy of the large-paper edition printed on vellum. ... The memorial gift cost Mr. Morgan more than ten thousand dollars." Frank E. Hopkins, *The De Vinne & Marion Presses: A Chapter from the Autobiography of Frank E. Hopkins* (Meriden, CT: The Columbiad Club, 1936), 28-29.
8. John Clyde Oswald, "Address," 15, in *Catalogue of Work of the De Vinne Press*, printed for Grolier Club exhibition, December, 1928 (New York: Grolier Club, 1929). Irene Tichenor, *No Art without Craft: The Life of Theodore Low De Vinne* (Boston: Godine, 2005), 128-30, notes that 76 folio copies were printed without borders and 436 with borders, including 11 on vellum (the Morgan gifts to the committee members).
9. Arthur Warren, *The Charles Whittinghams Printers* (New York: Grolier Club, 1896). Warren, a seasoned journalist, provides a laudatory preface: "It is not conceivable that any author could be served with greater loyalty and enthusiasm on the part of his printer than I have been by Mr. Theodore C. De Vinne. In his advice and cheerful, untiring labor I have found inestimable help. Of his skill I need not speak." G. Manville Fenn, *Memoir of Benjamin Franklin Stevens* (London: Chiswick Press, 1903), 107, says the book originally was to have been published in England, "but the Grolier Club of New

- York offered to make it one of their publications." Updike's enthusiasm for Pickering and the Chiswick Press is mentioned in his "Ecclesiastical Printing," (1908), reprinted in William S. Peterson, *The Well-Made Book: Essays & Lectures by Daniel Berkeley Updike* (West New York, NJ: Mark Batty, 2002), 147, and a photograph's description in Updike, "A Description of the Merrymount Press," (1928), in *Ibid.*, 208.
10. Daniel Berkeley Updike, "Notes on the Merrymount Press & Its Work," in Julian Pearce Smith and Daniel Berkeley Bianchi, *The Merrymount Press, 1893-1949* (San Francisco: Alan Wofsy, 1975), 226.
 11. The *Benedicite omnia opera Domini* ("O all ye works of the Lord, praise ye the Lord"), a long canticle of praise, is found in the Apocrapha, that part of the Book of Daniel which survives in Greek, but not Hebrew. Three Jewish captives, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, refuse to worship King Nebuchadnezzar's golden calf and are thrown into a fiery furnace. This canticle in some translations is listed as The Prayer of Azariah (Hebrew for Abednego) or the Song of the Three Young Men. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 209, suggests that the *Benedicite*, clearly similar to psalms of praise, may originally have in fact been written in Hebrew.
 12. Quoted in Douglass Shand-Tucci, *Boston Bohemia, 1881-1900: Volume One of Ralph Adams Cram: Life and Architecture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 141.
 13. Martin Hutner, *The Making of the Book of Common Prayer of 1928* (n.p.: Chiswick Book Shop, 1990).
 14. Heidi Ardizzone, *An Illuminated Life: Belle da Costa Greene's Journey from Prejudice to Privilege* (New York: Norton, 2007). The index does not include an entry for Updike or The Book of Common Prayer.
 15. "The profits ... shall be applied to charitable and religious purposes." This guide to southern Methodism says that buildings should be "plain and decent ... but not more expensive than is absolutely unavoidable." Preachers are asked rhetorically: "Do you choose and use water for your common drink?" (Richmond: John Early, 1859), 6, 158, 58.
 16. Email, Kristensen to author, June 26, 2012.

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The history of the book is varied. New technologies, in some sense, resuscitate a long-standing tradition of interactive, malleable books.

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Shakespeare and the (Very Short) History of the Book

JEFFREY TODD KNIGHT

I want to start by addressing the parenthetical phrase in my title, “the very short” history of the book. I’d imagine it sounds counterintuitive to most of us, especially since we are deeply, reflexively interested in a long tradition of reading and writing books – a tradition that, we know, stretches back to the invention of the Roman codex, all the way up to high-tech digital-age libraries like the one in downtown Seattle. I say “the short history of the book” because I want to disentangle the rich and varied lives of texts from recent fears about the decline or death of the book, which I’m sure you’ve encountered in some form. Proponents of the idea that the book is disappearing invoke a long “history of the book” that inevitably makes us suspicious about reading and writing in the digital age. (That is, we worry that this older history is ending; something new or inferior is being put in its place.) Nicholas Carr and Sven Birkerts are the two major voices in this discussion, writing for *The Atlantic*. Carr, in a recent article called “Is Google Making Us Stupid?” answers yes: Google Books destroys two thousand years of “deep thinking” that we cultivate (in, say, reading Shakespeare) in physical book form.¹ Birkerts, in a recent article called “Resisting the Kindle,” argues that e-book readers undo a technology of learning – the book – that has persisted “over many centuries in ways that map on to our collective endeavor.”²

I want to put some pressure on these ideas today because I think it’s important that people think carefully about what it means to go through such a large-scale shift in reading practices, especially as it concerns literature. When commentators such as Carr and Birkerts refer to “a history of the book” today, they make two mistaken assumptions in my mind. First, they refer to “a history,” in the singular, as if there is only one history – one line of development – of this complex technology, the book. Second, and most problematically for me, these commentators refer to a history of the book, that is, the book as something that has existed, unchanged, since the first codices in the third century of the common era.

What I want to argue briefly here is that “the book” – that is, the object of prophecy in “the death of the book,” the object that surrounds us in a library – was not actually invented until the nineteenth century. “Books” (plural, and varied) existed before then, but “the book” in the sense that we use it today was not part of anyone’s “collective endeavor” for a very long time. And in fact, the

books that form the greater part of what we call literary history – the books that Shakespeare read and wrote, for example – were closer, in structure and meaning, to the kind of books that are being produced today in digital culture.

A modern book, we know, is a function of its binding. What separated the codex from the earlier technology of the roll or scroll was a fold, so that instead of having to read continuously, users had the option of reading indexically, i.e. by skipping around. (You can think about how long it would take to find a passage in Shakespeare if the plays were printed on a roll, for example. In a book, it's easier because it is folded, and therefore divided, into discrete pages.) The mistake that is made when today's commentators talk about "a history of the book" is that this folding or binding technology is assumed to have stayed the same for two thousand years. Closer analysis reveals that bindings, in fact, have dynamic and divergent histories – they are changing all the time. A person from the eleventh century would be confused if he or she were transported in time and given a book bound in the twenty-first.

I won't go through the various shifts that make up the evolution of book binding in this short space (though it's terribly interesting as a history, and most of it untold). The important moment that I want to highlight here is the shift from a bound volume that is the sum of its parts and a bound volume that is an integral unit, like the ones we know best. This shift happened in the early 19th century and it was fundamentally a shift to mechanized binding – that is, binding by machines, inside the printing house, instead of by hand in an external space or workshop. Modern books are what we call "ready-bound books" in the sense that their bindings are produced as part of the text; they are shipped from the publisher to retailers ready to buy and read in bound form. In contrast, books before the 1830s or so were not ready-bound. Before the mechanization of the publishing process in the nineteenth century, all bindings were essentially unique. Printers issued texts to booksellers in loose sheets or temporarily stitched, and it would then be the choice of the retailer or the buyer to pluck out the string and have the pages or parts turned into a book. This could happen off site, at a bindery, or in the shop; the point is that it wasn't an integral part of the production process for whole printed editions.

Of course, artisanal binding (the only kind of binding in this early period) is incredibly expensive; it's an investment, as book collectors know very well. What that expense meant for earlier readers is that it was financially unfeasible to bind each and every title in one's library individually. This was especially the case with works of literature, such as Shakespeare, which were printed in small formats (unlike, say, bibles, which were enormous texts in comparison). When you have a lot of small plays or poems, you economize by binding a bunch of them together at once. So, for example, the famous proto-Collected Works of

Shakespeare, the so-called Pavier edition printed in 1619, is technically not “a book” but nine or ten books bound together, depending on how you count. There’s no English word for this kind of multiple text book. The German compound noun, *Sammelband* – “collection-binding” – is useful in describing this kind of book. They were everywhere in early English book culture – very much the default vehicle for literary texts.

So before the advent of mechanized binding, publishers, booksellers, and readers had the freedom to have their books bound in whatever arrangements they wanted (it was financially necessary to create arrangements). And no two texts, in this period, looked the same. If you ever look at a still-life painting from the period showing someone’s library, you’ll see the huge variety of different formats that would have made up a collection. It’s a cataloguer’s nightmare – unbound single sheets, stitched quires, books bound in limp vellum or parchment, hardbound books with probably many titles in them, and so on. The degree of control given over in the binding of texts meant that most every book, with the exception of large bibles and chronicles, were “personal anthologies,” individual mixtures of printed material that reflected the choice of a particular person, rather than, as today, the choice of a publishing house. These arrangements were also subject to constant rearrangement. You can imagine buying a book at an auction or estate sale and wanting it to reflect your decisions and tastes, not those of the person who owned it previously. That’s exactly what early owners did: they would have these composite volumes taken apart when they acquired them, and then they would have them rebound in their own arrangement. So these were flexible objects, much more so than modern books, whose contents you can’t access or change.

This is what I mean by the “very short” history of the book. The modern object that we call a book has a shorter history than varied, malleable objects that flourished in Shakespeare’s time; these go back to the invention of the codex. It is debatable what constitutes “a book,” in any fixed sense, in the period before mechanized binding. Instead, we have a range of book-like things. This is a scene that would have been common for a pre-nineteenth-century reader or writer. And in fact, the few book collections from these early periods that survive (that is, as their early readers left them) do reflect this flexibility, or what we would see as disorder. To take one example, the Elizabethan Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, left his library to Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge, when he died in 1575. It has puzzled users at Cambridge for centuries because its principle of order is difficult to comprehend in modern terms. The catalog, hand-written by Parker, is still kept with the library as a guide to the stacks, and it divides the texts into two categories: first, the “Upper Library,” which contained bibles and other important theological works, and second (again, this is actually written by Parker himself) is “Books in Parchment Closures that lie in heaps.”

There is little discussion in the standard histories about the malleability and variability of early books. It's a blind spot in the way we think about technologies of reading and writing. And this brings us back to Shakespeare. Because one of the primary reasons that scholars and collectors don't think about the kind of books that can change shape over time is that those changes are largely hidden. So much of what we know about book history comes from minute attention to Shakespearean texts and other highly valuable, literary artifacts. And the more valuable a text is, the more likely it was to be rebound in luxury leather or cloth after the transition to mechanized binding in the nineteenth century. Shakespearean books that were formerly multiple books mixed together by an early reader were turned into self-enclosed books, most often in the later nineteenth or early twentieth century.

The effect of these rebindings on the most heavily scrutinized historical books, is that we know very little about books' actual histories. If we go to a rare book library and call up an original Shakespeare play, a modern-looking volume will be delivered to our desk: slim, luxury, leather-bound, with one title in it. As I've been suggesting, there is a vast difference between the way Shakespeare would have seen his books and the way we see them in modernized forms like this. Modern, rebound Shakespearean texts cry out expensive, untouchable; they are almost prohibitively self-enclosed. We can think of it like our own books: today, we have institutional prohibitions against interacting with texts. We're not allowed to write in them (libraries, of course, get upset about that), and if they are ours, we fear things like breaking the spine or treating it without due care and caution on our shelves. In Shakespeare's time, books were not self-enclosed in this way. Readers engaged with them, wrote in them, and controlled their contents and structure. This is what we would call "interactivity" today, and it's actually a lot like "remixing" or appropriating, which people can now do with books, albums, paintings – things formerly considered closed off, like this before the digital age.

For the sake of comparison, I want to share a quick example of how a book or set of books would be kept and treated in Shakespeare's time. St. John's College, Cambridge shelf mark A.2.18 is a bound volume containing six texts – a literary work, a history of Venice, a guide to religious pilgrimage, and a couple of everyday handbooks. The early owner, a sixteenth-century physician named Miles Bloomfield, also bound his own manuscript notes into the volume: a list of local parish churches, followed by the names of kings and some other material that Bloomfield deemed appropriate. In addition to this being a composite set of books, assembled into one as we might assemble an iPod playlist, it is also a volume that the owner could interact with. The colophon of one of the items, for example – that is, where the printer gives what we would call the copyright information – reads, "Here endeth the booke called the Information for pilgrims."

But instead of a static feature of the physical text, Bloomfield saw this as an opportunity to record his own information. In red and black ink under the printed section, Bloomfield has written, "I Myles Bloomefield of Bury St Edmund in Suffolk, was born the year following the printing of this book, in the year of our lord, 1525." So here we have an early reader using the text to add his own data; he is, in a sense, writing himself into this existing printed book. This part is now about him as much as it's about the preexisting content.

Bloomfield took this opportunity throughout the composite volume. In another printed item, he marks his initials and writes "borne 1525" in a table showing the names of bishops. (So he is, in a sense, locating his own birth in the history told in this particular printed text.) Perhaps most remarkably, in the printed history of Venice in the volume, Bloomfield seems to have written his initials next to the names of selected Venetian churches and monuments in print. When I first saw this, I puzzled over whether this reader had actually used this book to mark places he had been, or if these were just places he wanted to go at some point, and in that sense it's a sort of wish fulfillment to mark it in this way. My question was answered when I looked at the blank sheet at the start of the printed item, where Bloomfield has taken out the original title page and put in its place his own title, "Myles Blomefylde in Venice, in the year 1568." So yes, he apparently went to Venice, and repurposed this book, a history of Venice, to reflect his own travels. It's now titled "Miles Bloomfield in Venice."

So you can see, there is a vast gulf that separates early books such as this from the early books that most often arrive on our desks when we go to rare book rooms. With the invention of "the book" in the nineteenth century, there was suddenly a new standard for how books should look, and a new protocol for using them: they should be clean, exactly repeatable, bound individually, and cordoned off from user interaction, or remixing. Shakespeare's works, because they were the most valuable, were disproportionately transformed into modern books like this. And in the process, we lost a lot of information about how plays and poems were read, how they were categorized, and how writers like Shakespeare could have conceived of them as he wrote. In the modern period, surviving copies of valuable works with annotations or scribbling from early owners would be worth less than if they were clean copies. Collectors might bleach margins or cobble together perfect, clean copies out of multiple imperfect ones. They would certainly dispense with any other titles bound with a Shakespearean book in an early binding. (Bloomfield's book, I should say, survived in the original composite, marked-up state largely because these were not valuable or important texts. We can only imagine how many Miles Bloomfields there were reading Shakespeare as he did his *History of Venice*. Modern keepers of Shakespeare's books filtered these Miles Bloomfields out of history in rebinding their texts to look modern.

At its most extreme, collectors and readers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would take a Shakespearean text that had once been malleable and combinable and they would inlay it in new paper. This is how most items of literary or theatrical interest in the famed Kemble-Devonshire collection at the Huntington Library look now. In these cases, the library's nineteenth century owner, a famous English actor, cut down every page from plays and other texts individually. He trimmed his books to the very edge of text mounted each page to form what reads like a series of framed documents rather than a Renaissance play. This is a far cry from how the same text would have been stored earlier on, before what I'm calling the invention of the book.

To summarize, then: the understanding that we have of literature and literary history depends (to an extent not yet acknowledged by scholars) on owners, collectors, and libraries as custodians of printed books. The most valuable, cherished pre-modern literary artifacts are, for the most part, reflections of books that never existed; they could not exist in their time because of technological and economic constraints. They are instead canvasses upon which we render our desires, in this case, for Shakespeare's works to be fine collectors' items – integral, self-enclosed books. The reality is that Shakespeare's books were closer in Shakespeare's time to what we would call pamphlets. Like the texts in Miles Bloomfield's books, they were routinely bundled up with other things; they were written on, taken apart, and reshaped by their owners. (We often forget that Shakespeare's plays were excluded from the original Bodleian Library at Oxford because Thomas Bodley himself deemed them "riff raffs and baggage books," that is cheap print unfit for public consumption.) What collectors, librarians, and conservators do, in addition to facilitating access to texts such as these, is generate meaning through things like bindings, catalog entries, and other bibliographical details. What we might call the "packaging" of a book is always a part of the content it conveys, and how it can be interpreted. In Shakespeare's case, the packaging encodes a set of values or ideas that reflect a desired poem or play at the time it was turned into a physical book.

The second point I've been making, related to this first one, is that physical books have a long and varied history. We can look at the interface of an eBook reader today and see distant echoes of Bloomfield's book, or what we might imagine Shakespeare's books looking or feeling like in earlier times. After two hundred years of "the book," we can now assemble books into composites, into many varied kinds of intertextual configurations. The interfaces of e-book readers and digital archives sometimes look a lot like those pre-1900 still lifes of multiple books and book forms. Readers can also write in books again, which is to say that they can alter their content and format, and comment or annotate in a way that is sanctioned instead of prohibited. Scholars, too, are beginning to create

interfaces for reading Shakespeare's books in more flexible formats. The Shakespeare Quartos Archive from the British Library and the Folger in Washington, for example, make it so that after many years of having to call up early copies one at a time in individual bindings, we now have the option here of reading multiple copies of Shakespeare's works on the same screen, much like the interface of the early compilations, with multiple books together in hardcover bindings.

For all the reservations we might have about digital book culture, then, I am suggesting that new technologies, in some sense, resuscitate a long-standing tradition of interactive, malleable books. New interfaces remind us that the static, self-enclosed book is not a natural state or standard, but actually an epiphenomenon of something larger, something that perhaps does not have a name yet, but which constitutes the primary medium in which Shakespeare and so many other of our favorite authors worked.

NOTES

1. Nicholas Carr, "Is Google Making Us Stupid: What the Internet is Doing to our Brains," *The Atlantic* (July/Aug 2008), accessed online, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2008/07/is-google-making-us-stupid/6868/>.
2. Sven Birkerts, "Resisting the Kindle" (March 2009), accessed online, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/print/2009/03/resisting-the-kindle/7345/>.

Jeffrey Todd Knight was the keynote speaker at the Book Club of Washington 2012 Annual Meeting. This article is from that lecture. He is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Washington, where he co-directs the Textual Studies Program. His first book, Bound to Read: Compilation, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature is due out in March from the University of Pennsylvania Press.

Anton Zwemmer was a Dutch bookseller and publisher who settled in England during the early 1900s, fostering the growth and development of specialized art book selling and publishing.

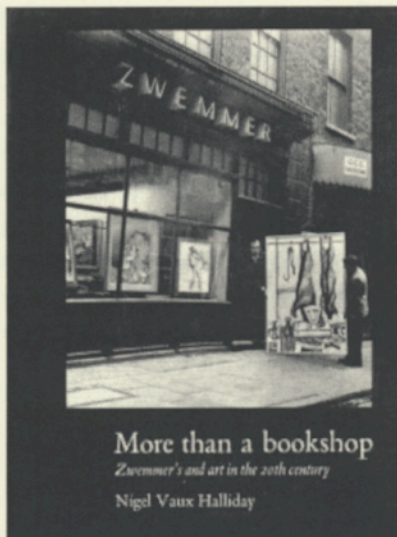
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Anton Zwemmer: London's Bookseller and Publisher for the Arts

JANE CARLIN

As a student of art history and subsequently as an art librarian, I have always been intrigued by the power images have to convey ideas and how art reproductions have the ability to influence one's interpretation of art. As an undergraduate studying art history, I was introduced early on to the importance of image quality. I can't forget sitting through early morning lectures in darkened auditoriums in which the professor would profusely apologize about the lack of a color slide for a key work of art, or alternatively, when a color one was available, offer an abject apology for the pink quality of the film. I can remember study sessions surrounded by huge stacks of art books filled with reproductions in both color and black and white. And, as a graduate student in library science, I was fortunate to work at both the Fine Arts and the Lilly Rare Book Libraries at Indiana University. I spent countless hours gazing at hand-illustrated books and beautifully printed *livre d'artistes*. My first professional position was at the Herron School of Art in Indianapolis where as the slide librarian my awareness of the importance of image accuracy was heightened by my copy photography work. So, it was inevitable when a call for proposals for post graduate study tenable at the University of Wales in Great Britain was announced by B. H. Blackwell, the Oxford bookseller, I seized on the opportunity and submitted a proposal to study the history of the illustrated art book. I was fortunate to receive the academic fellowship which resulted in a lifelong love affair with the art book!

My research took me to the Victoria and Albert National Art Library where I spent countless hours examining early and contemporary illustrated art books; to the homes of noted publishers such as Elly Miller; to the daughter of Bela



Horowitz, founder of the Phaidon Press; and to the many specialist art bookshops throughout London. It was during my walks around Charing Cross Road and interviews with specialist booksellers, librarians, and publishers that I was introduced to the contributions of Anton Zwemmer, one of the leading art booksellers and publishers in the early part of the twentieth century.

Very little is written about Anton Zwemmer, but Nigel Vaux Halliday's book, *More than a bookshop: Zwemmer's and art in the 20th century*, is an exceptional account of his life. This article provides a snapshot into the many contributions of Anton Zwemmer; bookseller and publisher of the arts.

THE EARLY YEARS

Anton Zwemmer was born in Haarlem, near Amsterdam, in 1892. He was the eldest son of Arie and Baukje Huizinga Zwemmer. His family was of modest means and Anton went to the local Christian School for the Working Class where he received a strong foundation in general subjects. He completed his education at age fourteen and found his first job in the publishing house of Herman Tjeenk Willink in Haarlem. But Anton proved to be an industrious young lad and it was not long after joining Willink's that he moved to a new position at the Haarlem firm of H. N. Mul, specializing in music and bookselling. It was here that he learned the fundamentals of the book trade. It was also in 1911, while working at Mul's, that fate intervened in his life, giving him the opportunity to further his career. In January of 1911, Zwemmer had received his call, like all young men of his age, for national service which was to begin in January 1912. The Dutch Army granted exemption to only a small number of recruits through a lottery. It was pure luck that Anton Zwemmer's number was picked and he was granted exemption for service. Therefore, he did not have to serve in the First World War. In his book Nigel Halliday refers to an interview Zwemmer gave to a Dutch paper in the 1950s in which he "still talked about this piece of paper which had such a significant influence on the course of his life" (Halliday 1991, 20). And so it was in 1912, at the age of nineteen, he left his hometown of Haarlem to begin work in Amsterdam. His first position in Amsterdam was as an assistant at the established firm of Kirberger & Kesper, which specialized in English literature. Zwemmer had the opportunity to travel to England and to develop connections with booksellers and publishers including Simpkin Marshall, Britain's leading book wholesaler. By this time he had become proficient in English, which no doubt led to his desire to establish residency in Britain. So it was no surprise when in 1914 he moved to Britain to work for Simpkin Marshall. After a short period of time, he moved to a new job at the iconic Harrods department store where he managed the bookshop. Anton acquired not only keen business acumen, but he also recognized his natural ability to sell books. His next position provided the

opportunity to combine both his knowledge of the book trade, language, and business skills with his uncanny sales ability. He took a position as an assistant for German born Richard Jäschke, a bookseller specializing in antiquarian and modern first editions at no. 78 Charing Cross Road.

ARTS BOOKSELLER

Zwemmer settled in to work with Jäschke and quickly became an invaluable assistant. His ability to speak several languages and his connections with Europe and Holland were an asset to the growing business. Jäschke was a German immigrant that had never sought naturalization. As the First World War progressed it became increasingly difficult for Jäschke to manage his business due to his German background. Zwemmer took on more and more of the day to day business operations. He eventually acquired a partnership and took over the business which provided him the opportunity, after the war, to establish his own specialized clientele and focus on art publications. He began to replace the antiquarian books of Jäschke with imported European books on art and quickly established himself as the only specialist art book dealer in London. This was during a time when the British public, after years of restricted access to new publications from Europe, was ripe for new information. Zwemmer had an uncanny ability to understand that the timing was right to specialize in art. Several factors contributed to the growing interest in art. The Post-Impressionist exhibitions in London organized by art historian Roger Fry before the war had made a dramatic impact on Britain and in turn generated an interest in new art forms. Artists were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the restraint of the Royal Academy and after years of being cut off from primary sources of modern art in France and Germany due to the war, the paintings of artists such as Paul Gauguin and Vincent Van Gogh with bold imagery and colors created excitement in art circles. The major galleries did not yet embrace this avant-garde or modern art and Zwemmer's became the source and place where this new art could be explored.

Zwemmer not only stocked art books but also high quality art reproductions and a large stock of domestic and foreign art journals. The shop was the only UK supplier for many of these specialist journals including *The Studio*, *The Fleuron*, *Jugend*, *Cahiers d'art*, and *Verve*. These journals which catered to new emerging art and artists, often served as the only outlet for European art criticism, and in many cases provided the British public with the very first reproductions of the new art. Noted British art historian Sir Kenneth Clark reflects upon on the artistic climate after the war and the void filled by Zwemmer:

In this wilderness, Mr. Zwemmer's bookshop was the source of refreshment. Generations of Oxford undergraduates have claimed that their

education took place in Blackwell's but at least one art historian can claim the same for Zwemmer's. This oasis had an even greater influence upon the formation of our taste. To those who had not seen the Post-Impressionist Exhibition of 1911, the great nineteenth century painters were almost unknown. In England, the people who had seen a Cezanne or Renoir were few. More incredible still, colour reproductions of Van Gogh did not exist and when they appeared in Mr. Zwemmer's windows, they were almost deliriously exciting. The same is true of Picasso and Matisse, only with them one could enjoy the added excitement of a movement belonging to one's own time. Young people ask, what is happening now? Only in Zwemmer's bookshop could they find the answer. (Anton Zwemmer: Tributes 1962, 3)

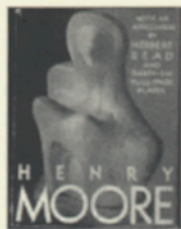
Stanley Morison, noted British typographer and printer, also reflects about the changes Zwemmer made to Jäschke's storefront:

The new proprietor put in his window a book that would not have appeared in his predecessor's time. A modest introduction to the life and work of Cezanne. Out of the small beginning signified by the display in the window of the book on Cezanne grew the institution that has been the main source of education and inspiration for artists and art historians. (Anton Zwemmer: Tributes 1962, 26)

ZWEMMER AS ART PUBLISHER

In the mid-twenties, while not only growing his collection of imported and domestic books and periodicals devoted to arts, Zwemmer added to his list of business ventures the publication of art books. His first forays were often co-editions with already established publishers. He produced the first book on Giotto since John Ruskin: *Giotto* by author Carlo Carra, an Italian painter and writer. *Giotto* was published in 1925 and contained 192 full page reproductions of photographs executed by the Italian photographic firm of Alinari and reproduced in collotype. Two years later he followed with a companion volume of Botticelli. In 1930, he connected with the French publisher Gualtiero di San Lazzaro's publishing house Editions des Chroniques du Jour. He co-published books on both Matisse and Picasso. These publications, with their integration of text and illustration printed with modern typefaces, were sophisticated in design format and it is easy to understand how, with their striking green and orange covers, they created a sensation when they appeared in the windows of Zwemmer's shop. The volume on Picasso, published in 1931, was the first English language monograph of the artist. Zwemmer worked with a number of publishers in Europe and the United States throughout his career and certainly helped promote the international co-editions of illustrated arts books.

Zwemmer also supported emerging British artists. His ongoing support of contemporary artists is reflected in his publication of the first book on the sculptor Henry Moore by Herbert Read, one of Britain's most respected art historians. As Read states, "Zwemmer's is a word immediately associated with the origins and developments of the modern movement in British art. In general, illustrated books and magazines have had a historical influence not sufficiently appreciated by students of contemporary art. It was Mr. Zwemmer who, in 1934, when no other publisher was willing, undertook my first book on Henry Moore" (Anton Zwemmer: Tributes 1962, 19). Read's book contained over thirty-six half-tone plates printed on high gloss art paper which represented Moore's work in stone, terracotta, concrete, metal as well as in drawings. The young artist Henry Moore also reflects upon the influence of Zwemmer's:

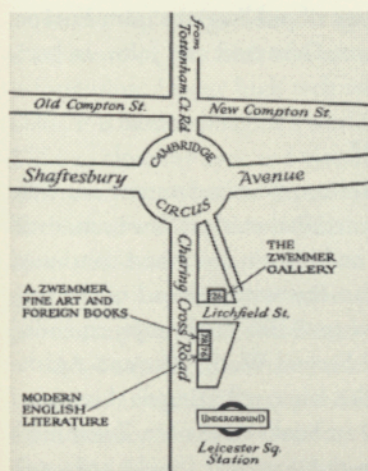


I discovered Zwemmer's bookshop in October 1921, in my first term at the Royal College of Art. I was a provincial student, raw from Yorkshire. That first year in London was the most tremendous exhalation for me. No doubt the British Museum contributed most of all to my excitement and education – but the art books I found in Zwemmer's had a great share too. Charing Cross Road is between the British Museum and the National Gallery, and so it was easy to combine weekly visits with a "call-in" at Zwemmer's. These calls would sometimes, quite shamelessly, last an hour. Having only my scholarship grant I couldn't afford to buy a book, unless I was sure it was one I would want to consult continuously – but looking at a coveted book week after week it often became unnecessary to buy it, so most times I would walk out with no purchase, but nobody bothered. (Wilkinson 2002, 95)

ZWEMMER'S ART GALLERY

In 1929, he established a gallery on Litchfield Street, around the corner from his Charing Cross bookshop. The gallery became, like the bookshop, a mecca for artists throughout Britain and a center for the modern art movement. Early shows featured the work of sculptors Henry Moore, Jacob Epstein and Henri Gaudier-Brzeska. In 1932, Zwemmer staged an exhibition of the Curwen Press which included decorative papers, stencils, and books. Zwemmer was already representing the Press' journal *The Fleuron*, which was established by book designer Oliver Simon and later edited by Stanley Morison. Zwemmer supported the Curwen Press throughout his career, often asking the Press to print the catalogs and invitations for many of his gallery shows. The exhibits of the art gallery were

often closely tied to the publication of books. For example, also in 1932, three exhibits were linked to new books published by Zwemmer: *Room and book* by Paul Nash, *Art forms in nature* by Karl Blossfeldt and Nina Hamnett's *Laughing Torso*. Zwemmer continued to showcase modern artists with exhibitions of Miro, Braque, Chagall and Rouault as well as to sell original prints and high quality reproductions. The persistent theme was to support recent work by living artists and to encourage new ideas.



ZWEMMER AND ALBERT SKIRA

Many of Zwemmer's publishing ventures were a result of his collaboration with Albert Skira. Born in Switzerland, Skira also worked in France and is best known for his lavish color illustrated books and for the production of *livre d'artistes*: beautifully produced books, often with a historical text, illustrated with original prints by contemporary artists.

In Paris, Skira had the opportunity to meet many of the most prolific artists of the period and forged friendships with both Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso. In 1928 he asked both artists to illustrate books for him. Picasso began work on the illustrations to *Les Metamorphoses D'Ovide*. Skira took a chance on this book but because of its avant-garde nature it was not well received by the established arts community. However, like the lottery that had many years earlier saved Anton Zwemmer from military service, so fate once again intervened, this time to connect Albert Skira with Anton Zwemmer. Back in England Zwemmer's business was thriving and he received regular orders from Britain's National Art Library in the Victoria & Albert Museum. He received an order for the Skira edition of the *Metamorphoses*. Zwemmer was the only dealer to order an advance copy from Skira. Skira was so thrilled he traveled to London in the middle of winter to meet the person whom he described as courageous for sending in the first order, and as Halliday reflects in his book, "Intrigued that anyone should be dealing in luxury books at such a time, Skira is reputed to have asked 'Qui est ce fou?' After phoning from Paris, he came in the depths of winter, trudging through the London snow, to visit Zwemmer" (Halliday 1991, 66). From this initial meeting Zwemmer and Albert Skira became close friends and business associates. Zwemmer became the agent for Skira's books in Britain and he used his windows to showcase the distinctive covers and the lavish color reproductions from the books which in turn drew in regular customers.

Zwemmer's business continued to thrive, but the Second World War curtailed many of the collaborative projects. During the war years, Zwemmer focused on the antiquarian book market due to the shortage of publications from Europe. And he gradually began to involve his two sons, Desmond and John, in business operations.

AFTER THE WAR

The end of war marked a new era for publishers. Wartime restrictions were lifted and publishers were able to expand international markets. Zwemmer still kept his focus on quality publications and he and his son Desmond continued to work closely with Albert Skira after the war. But with the end of the war, also came competition for the first time. New specialist bookshops expanded due to the growth of art publishing after the Second World War and Agatha Sadler opened St. George's Gallery in 1945. Sadler, when reflecting on this period states, "You cannot imagine how incredibly few art books there were. Zwemmer's was the only place you could purchase foreign publications" (Snider 1983, 59). Sadler's shop, like Zwemmer's drew a new clientele, many of them young art historians. This was also the time where the exhibition catalog was evolving to fit the renewed interest in the academic discipline of art history. Many galleries and museums were producing well-illustrated catalogs of works never before seen. Sadler seized on the importation of exhibition catalogs, thus complementing Zwemmer's publishing efforts.

In 1949, in collaboration with Skira, Zwemmer published the English translation by Stuart Gilbert of André Malraux's two volumes *The Psychology of Art*. This publication is a visual testimony to Malraux's museum without walls philosophy. The plates appear in the text at the exact point where they were expected to illustrate the ideas presented by the author. This was no easy feat, as the sixty-five photogravure plates of different sizes had to be integrated into the text and the twenty-one full color illustrations had to be tipped in at regular intervals. He also published a multi-volume set cataloging the sculpture and drawings of friend Henry Moore with British publisher Lund Humphries. Zwemmer still remained a driving force in the business but his sons continued to assume more operating responsibility. While John continued to oversee the bookselling, it was Desmond that continued to grow the publishing business and it was in the late 1950s that Desmond recognized the void in scholarly publications associated with architecture. Desmond Zwemmer is responsible for establishing *The Studies in Architecture* series that published many of the first books to recognize the contributions of some of the world's major architects. The series was initially edited by Rudolf Wittkower, German architectural historian and Anthony Blunt, British art historian, and eventually ran to thirty volumes.

CONCLUSION

In our digital age where it seems that everything is available at the touch of a keyboard or the click of a mouse, it is hard to imagine being unable to find information. In our high tech world where everything is animated and in full color, it is hard to imagine a world where color reproductions were not the norm. I like to close my eyes and visualize a cold, dreary and rainy day (maybe not so different from what we experience in the Pacific Northwest) in London. I like to think of walking down Charing Cross Road in search of inspiration and new ideas and then think about what it must have been like to turn the corner and gaze upon Zwemmer's window display of vibrant colors and new publications promoting European and British artists.

In 1962 Anton Zwemmer celebrated his seventieth birthday and to mark the occasion, a festschrift was published in his honor which included contributions from Stanley Morison, Geoffrey Grigson, Herbert Read, Kenneth Clark, Albert Skira and Henry Moore. I believe Henry Moore's statement below eloquently sums up Anton Zwemmer's contributions to book selling and publishing:

There are a few individuals in every age and country, whose vision and vitality applied in a particular sphere, have immense influence. I could mention eight or nine such individuals whose efforts during my lifetime have helped to change the whole climate of the English art world. Some of these I am very happy to count as my close friends, and one of them is Anton Zwemmer. (Wilkinson 2002, 95)

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A significant portion of this article was based on my graduate thesis:

Snider, Jane Anne. *A study of art book publishing in Great Britain with special references to developments after 1945*. Aberystwyth, Wales: College of Librarianship, 1983.

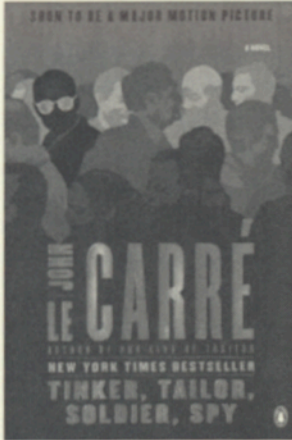
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As evidence of Zwemmer's place in British cultural history, it is even mentioned in John Le Carré's 1974 classic, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier Spy*. I think it is Toby E. that pops into "Zwemmer's" to browse while fleeing from one of those Russian spies!



Out in the street he sauntered down the Charing Cross Road peering at the windows of the bookshops while his other mind checked both sides of the pavement. It had turned much colder, a wind was getting up, and there was a promise to people's faces as they bustled by. He felt elated. Till now he had been living too much in the past, he decided. Time to get my eye in again. In Zwemmer's he examined a coffee-table book called *Musical Instruments Down the Ages* and remembered that Camilla had a late lesson with Dr. Sand, her flute-teacher. He walked back as far as Foyle's, glancing down bus queues as he went. Think of it as abroad, Smiley had said. Remembering the duty room and Roy Bland's fishy stare, Guillam had no difficulty. And Bill, too, was Haydon party to their same suspicion? No. Bill was his own category, Guillam decided, unable to resist a surge of loyalty to Haydon. Bill would share nothing that was not his own in the first place. Set beside Bill, those other two were pygmies.

Jane Carlin is currently the Director of the Collins Memorial Library at the University of Puget Sound. She has worked as an art librarian at Oxford Brookes University in Oxford, England as well as the Herron School of Art, the University of Texas, and most recently at the College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning at the University of Cincinnati. She has promoted the book arts through lectures and exhibits. She "dabbles" in collecting art books published by Albert Skira, early editions of the Phaidon Press, and those published by Anton Zwemmer.

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